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harmony; the absence of extremes ; in a word, the result of a natural and complete developement.

The remarks on Schelling, Hegel, Steffens, and Goerres are full of interest and humor, but by no means free from prejudice. Heine's charge against the philosophers of the day, that they are state-philosophers, devising a philosophical justification of all interests of the governments to which they owe their patronage, seeking out grounds to justify the existing order of things, and being vindicators of all that is, is the same which was brought against Hegel twenty years ago by many clear-headed and liberal-minded men, and he owed probably his call to Berlin, in 1818, to this faculty of adaptation.

A series of short but graphic sketches of the principal remaining authors of the Romantic School, Hoffmann, Novalis, Brentano, and Arnim, closes this volume, from which we long to extract many passages, especially those relating to German popular poetry and the "Niebelungenlied," but our limits oblige us to forbear.

We should, however, be deficient in our duty, if we did not add a few words of testimony to the great merits of Mr. Haven's translation. His is indeed a translation, not only of the letter, but of the spirit also ; and every one, who is acquainted with the original, and has been struck by the peculiar power of Mr. Heine's style, will at once acknowledge this to be no small praise. We cannot express our admiration of Mr. Haven's talent as a translator in a more convincing manner, than by requesting him to pursue this career, and gratify us with many similar proofs of his acquirements and ability.

ART. VIII. — *De la Démocratie en Amérique*. Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, L'un des Auteurs du Livre intitulé, "Du Système pénitenciaire aux États-Unis."

*On the Democracy of America*. By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, One of the authors of "The Penitentiary System of the United States." In Two Volumes. 8vo. Second Edition. Paris. 1835.

IN a former Number of our journal, we reviewed "*The Penitentiary System of the United States*," the joint production of

M. de Tocqueville and the companion of his journey, M. de Beaumont. That work has been translated, and has obtained a pretty extensive circulation in this country. It has prepared those who have read it to expect the present publication with some eagerness. We feel no hesitation in saying, that this expectation will not be disappointed. M. de Tocqueville shows himself to be an original thinker, an acute observer, and an eloquent writer. We regard his work now before us, as by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive, which has been produced in Europe on the subject of America. In the wide range of its topics, treated as they all are with boldness, there are, as might be anticipated, many things to which, as speculations, we cannot give our assent; there are several mistakes, as to matters of fact, some of considerable importance; there is occasionally a disposition shown, almost universal among intelligent original thinkers, to construct a theory, and then find the facts to support it. These, however, are slight defects in an excellent work. M. de Tocqueville shows, that he came to this country to study with impartiality its institutions, to ascertain its condition, and to trace the existing phenomena to their principles. There is no eulogy in it, and no detraction; but, throughout, a manly love of truth. M. de Tocqueville's observations uniformly discover a high degree of acuteness and discrimination. They show, that to observe accurately and profoundly requires a vigor of mind, as rarely perhaps to be met with, as the power of original invention. The number of men, who are able to lay aside the paltry prejudices of party, — who are not misled by superficial appearances, — who can separate what is permanent and essential from what is momentary, — who can discern great principles under a thousand varying forms of developement, is exceedingly small; and in no one effort perhaps is their talent more severely put to the test, than in writing a book of travels.

We take the greater satisfaction in the work of M. de Tocqueville, from a deep conviction that much mischief has been produced by works of a different character on the subject of America, which have of late years issued in great numbers from the European press. M. de Tocqueville speaks of the bitter hatred entertained by the Americans toward England. We consider that expression as too strong. The angry feelings excited by the wars between the two countries have yielded to time and other healing influences;

and there is nothing to keep up the sort of animosity, which prevails, for instance, between the Turks and the Greeks, the Irish and English, the Russians and Poles, the Spaniards and Portuguese. Still, however, if not hatred, there is a very considerable soreness and sense of injury, existing on the part of America towards Great Britain, and almost exclusively produced by the publications of a portion of the British tourists in this country, and the countenance unadvisedly given to these publications by the most respectable literary journals in England. It is idle to talk of the peculiar irritability of the Americans. M. de Tocqueville, who falls into the vulgar error of foreigners, in imputing such an irritability to the people of this country, (or rather who, on this point, abandons his excellent habit of observing for himself, and adopts, without reflection, one of the stale, stereotyped sneers of the tourists,) explains himself the only circumstance, that gives a semblance of truth to the charge. A vastly greater portion of the community in this, than in any other country, are readers; and the novelties of the day, thrown into circulation, at a rate of almost incredible cheapness, may be said to be read by everybody. The scandal and gossip of the travellers in our own country, give their works an instantaneous circulation, on the same principle that gives zest to the columns of the most worthless journal, which deals in personalities and the abuse of contemporary characters. They are immediately read by almost all persons who read any thing; and those who escape the book itself, must encounter it, at second hand, in the reviews, magazines, and newspapers. These considerations account for the universality of the feeling, which the works in question excite. An American tourist in England might publish an equally offensive book, and not one in ten would hear of it of that class, which in America devours all the trash of every kind that issues from the press. But that the individual, in the two countries respectively, is differently affected by the perusal of works of this class, we have yet to learn. If an English gentleman, who had hospitably entertained an American, should find the confidence of his fire-side violated, and what was done and said in the unsuspecting frankness of the social board duly embalmed in the journal, and blazoned to the world, we are inclined to think he would express himself on the occasion, very much as an American gentleman does, when similarly

situated. We did not observe, that the tone of the British critical press toward Prince Pückler Muscau was particularly characterized by a philosophical indifference toward the individual or personal detraction charged upon the pages of that eccentric writer ; and the more recent instance of a countryman of our own furnishes an edifying comment on the atrocious violation of the decencies of life, which has marked the publications of many of the British tourists in America, and the unscrupulous countenance extended to them by the most respectable journals. John Bull's tremendous horn, long, hooked, and crumpled, has been for forty years buried deep in Jonathan's flank ; and if the poor sufferer but winks under the discipline, Europe rings from side to side with his tetchiness. But when Jonathan, the other day, in a moment of indiscretion, showed a disposition, in a slight degree, to take a turn at the sport, all Albemarle Street was in commotion. For ourselves, we wholly reprobate this license, on whichever side of the water it is taken ; and how gentlemen and ladies, English or American, can find in the mere fact, that they are foreign tourists, (in other words, that in the account of friendly offices, they must almost of necessity stand on the debtor's side,) a reason for liberating themselves from those restraints of good breeding, which would operate on a person travelling from city to city in his own country, we never have been able to conceive.

Much, however, as the violations of confidence and the ungrateful return for hospitality, to which we allude, are to be rebuked, there is a sin of a deeper dye at the door of some of the tourists. We mean that of undertaking the voyage expressly and for the avowed purpose of political effect at home, and consequently to find, and (what is the same thing, with such a purpose,) to make the materials for vilifying this country. These writers have done the greatest mischief ; and have mainly contributed to produce that feeling, which M. de Tocqueville, overrating, we trust, its intensity, characterizes as hatred toward England. In the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, when the King was the State, an offensive device on a medal of doubtful authenticity was among the causes of the war with which he desolated Holland. Human nature is the same, in all ages, and on both sides of the Atlantic ; and it would be underrating the vigor and efficiency of the British press to suppose, that, if its conductors and contributors, of all descriptions, desire to excite a bad temper between the two countries, they will fail of their object.

We have already intimated the opinion, that M. de Tocqueville's work exhibits more insight into our system than any European publication which we have seen, and we consider this circumstance as somewhat remarkable. Our institutions (to use a word which our English brethren profess not to understand, though in what its obscurity consists we do not perceive,) are modelled, to a considerable extent, on those of England. Our law in its frame-work, substance, and phraseology is English, and our constitutional forms generally are borrowed from those of the mother country. Between our legal and political system and that of France, there is, on the contrary, the greatest possible dissimilarity. And yet, while M. de Tocqueville has seized, with great accuracy and acuteness, the prominent points of our policy, both in matter of theory and practical operation, we do not recollect any English writer, who has comprehended either; certainly not Captain Hall or Colonel Hamilton, from whom, if from any of the British tourists, it might have been expected. No English writer on this country has discerned the important part sustained by our town and county organization in carrying on the government; or evinced any accurate knowledge of the relative limits of the National and State jurisdictions. We could almost think that the resemblance, which exists between the two countries, prevents a more accurate perception of the state of things, in points where the resemblance ceases, and the peculiarities and novelties commence. England lives under an organization, which may be compared to the solar system; every thing proceeds from or tends to the focus of central attraction. America possesses a much more complicated organization; like that of which the sun, with all its subject planets, is supposed to form a part in the heavens. The twenty-four independent States, each constituted substantially according to the political type of the mother country, compose a general system of government variously complicated with the separate systems, perpetually acting into them and reacted upon by them, both organically and sympathetically, forming in the general result, a highly artificial plan, whose main workings have been long ascertained by experience, but of which incidental properties and functions are continually unfolding themselves, beyond the range of any thing contemplated even by its founders. Now it is perhaps natural, that the Frenchman who approaches the subject as new in all its

parts, and studies it in the existing phenomena, without being misled by previous associations, may attain a more accurate knowledge of it, than an Englishman who comes to America, expecting to find nothing but the English system, *mutatis mutandis*. The latter is not likely fully to comprehend to what extent the old names import new things ; how far that which is wholly new, varies the action of that which is borrowed, and how far the absence of that which was not borrowed from England, changes the character of what was. Besides this, it is not to be disguised, that, with Englishmen of almost all classes, the American constitutions are regarded as the British, in a state of degeneracy. No man can comprehend a system against which he is prejudiced ; the passions are on all subjects the great disturbers of perception and obstructers of knowledge. A Frenchman of the liberal school like M. de Tocqueville, is disposed to regard the representative republics of America, as a fair and natural attempt to carry the principles of the British constitution into their consequences. If he has no partiality for the experiment, he has at least no prejudice against it.

It would be underrating the importance of M. de Tocqueville's work to regard it merely as a book on America. It is a work of deep significance and startling import for Europe and for the modern civilized world. Let the first sentences of the introduction attest the truth of this remark.

"Among the new objects, which attracted my attention, during my residence in the United States, nothing struck me more powerfully, than the *equality of conditions*. I easily discovered the prodigious influence, which it exercises on the march of society. It gives a certain direction to the public mind, a certain character to the laws ; new maxims to rulers, and peculiar habits to the ruled.

"I soon found that this principle extends its influence far beyond politics and laws ; that it exerts the same sway over society as over the government. It creates opinions, gives rise to feelings, suggests usages, and modifies what it does not produce.

"Thus, then, in proportion as I studied American society, I saw more and more, in the equality of conditions, the *parent fact* from which every other fact seemed to proceed ; and I continually met it as a central point, in which all my observations terminated.

"I then directed my mind toward our own hemisphere. It seemed to me that I distinguished there something analo-

gous to the spectacle presented in the new world. I saw the equality of conditions, which, without having reached its extreme limits, as in the United States, was daily approaching them ; and that same democracy, which bore sway in the American communities, seemed to me to advance rapidly toward power in Europe.

"From this moment the idea of my work was conceived. A great democratic revolution is going on among us ; all see it, but all do not estimate it alike. Some, considering it as a novelty, as an accident, hope to be able to arrest it ; while others judge it to be irresistible, because it seems to them the fact the most constant, the most ancient, and the most permanent, known in history." — pp. 1, 2.

Our readers perceive from these sentences, that our author's work is no child's play. Well may M. de Tocqueville remark, as he presently does, that his mind is solemnized at the statement of the subject. He regards the government of this country, as founded on great ultimate principles, which lie deep in the nature of man ; as a bold and noble experiment to develope and apply those principles. He farther considers the civilized world, which looks on, the spectator of the experiment, as itself profoundly interested in the result ; nay more, that a similar experiment, in earlier stages and under other conditions, is proceeding at the same time in Europe ; and that between the great experiments, going on in the two hemispheres, there is a constant action and reaction.

We conceive it of great importance to take these enlarged views of our politics. They elevate and purify the mind. They lift it out of the narrow sphere of contemporary intrigues ; and they show the incalculable importance of the part which Providence has assigned us on the stage of life. In nothing has M. de Tocqueville more approved his sagacity, than in placing at the very head of his work, as the parent principle of our institutions, the "Equality of Conditions" ; and it will be found, by a careful study of the genius of the various forms of government, at different times established in the world, that they differ mainly in this respect. This is essential, every thing else is accidental, in the constitution of political societies.

The fact of the equality of men is most curiously arranged in the providential order of human affairs ; and it seems to us that the manner, in which the allotments of a Higher Wisdom



have been obeyed and respected in the contrivances of our constitution, affords, more than any thing else, the proof of the almost inspired sagacity of our fathers. Religion teaches the moral equality of men, as the great foundation principle of our nature, which admits of no respect of persons with God. By the side of this moral equality, we perceive, nevertheless, the most extraordinary diversity of physical gifts and intellectual capacities ; in the result of which, in every form of society that has ever been practically tried among men, from the most ancient patriarchal government, to the rudest simplicity of savage life on the one hand, and the most complicated and artificial constitution on the other, vast disparities of condition among individuals are continually presenting themselves. These inequalities of gifts and capacities are the basis, first, of wealth, influence, and power. The robust, healthy, intelligent, brave savage is found in the possession of a larger and more commodious wigwam, of a buffalo's skin more tastefully ornamented, of a finer horse, of a comelier squaw, and of superior influence, perhaps of a commanding lead in the tribe. The same elements, concentrated into military prowess, in a more artificial constitution of society, led to the formation of the various monarchical and aristocratical governments, which have at different times existed in the world, and which were so many political contrivances, devised by the self-perpetuating instinct of power, not to give effect to the moral equality, but to perpetuate the physical and intellectual inequality of men. This, in itself, was an abuse, because in a frame of government, organized on the true principles of the nature of man, the moral equality, which is eternal and universal, should have been the end, and the physical and intellectual diversity the modification of the system. But the evil did not stop here ; the ancient governments, in seeking to perpetuate and organize the *diversity principle*, adopted institutions, which had the direct effect of still further impairing the *equality principle*. From this moment, the beautiful equilibrium of nature was disturbed, and enduring mischief was perpetrated. The fortunate general sought to transmit to his son that predominance in the state, which he had himself acquired by his valor. He was entitled to it for his personal qualities, and he wished to bequeath it to his son, who did not possess those personal qualities. Now and then the egregious absurdity, as well as injustice, of such a bequest peeps out. When

Richard Cromwell, the good-natured, timid, smooth-visaged, English gentleman, tries to take up the mighty battle-axe with which his father Oliver, with a reeking hand and a brow ploughed and blackened by the thunder-bolts which staggered, but could not prostrate him, had hewed his way to power, the world looks on with derision, laughs awhile, and permits Richard, greatly hissed for his pains, to sink away to his hiding place. But the line of monarchs, from Nimrod down, has been principally the alternation of Oliver and Richard. Oliver gives an impulse to the system, which often lasts through a succession of Richards. And when mankind, disdaining at length the ignominious yoke of a feeble despotism, conspires to throw it off, and affairs fall into confusion, up starts Oliver again in the old line or a new one, and plies his iron flail, till they cry for mercy, and all again is quiet. This *rationale* of political history was well understood by the ancients, and happily illustrated in the annals of their sacred Majesties, King Log and King Stork.

As, in the transmission of power, the personal superiority strives to perpetuate itself at the expense of the general equality, so with the transmission of fortune. The very idea of property, that which makes it to be what it is, namely, *one's own*, authorizes the possessor to dispose of it at his pleasure, while he lives and at his death. Experience showed the convenience of strengthening transmitted power by an alliance with transmitted wealth. Hence the various devices, the entails, the substitutions, and the trusts, by which, in the language of the law, the accumulations of one generation are *committed to the faith* of the next, to be used, kept together, and handed down. But, as it is plain that the equality, on which all stood as candidates for power, in the first generation, is greatly disturbed in the second by the organization of society into permanent divisions of rank ; so, for the acquisition of wealth, the equality principle is still more fatally impaired by all devices calculated to keep great accumulations together. In the first generation, all stand fairly in the competition, with no other inequality than that of the natural endowments. In the second, some start with great accumulations of inherited capital locked up against the vicissitudes of fortune. In this way, the natural constitution of society is subverted. The principle of equal rights is entirely lost sight of, a common interest ceases to exist, and every thing is

reduced to force ; with some considerable assistance from habit, patriotic pride, and superstition.

In this state the American Revolution found the world ; and from this political and social condition the American constitutions seek to restore mankind. The plan was not excogitated in the philosopher's cell, nor proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet. It offered itself, as all mighty improvements must offer themselves, spontaneously, to men nearly unconscious of the great work of which they were the chosen instruments. Wise men proposed it ; but they did not invent it, or create it. It grew out of the providential constitution of our race, and the heaven-controlled juncture of affairs. A child can drop an acorn into the ground, which will grow up into an oak ; and all the academies in the universe, with all their chemistry, cannot compound a blade of grass. The time had come, the circumstances were favorable, the soil was mellow. The natural equality of man is embalmed in an elective system. *Detur digniori*. The impossibility of the actual intervention of each individual of a large nation is relieved by a representative government. The system in a moment is complete. It is an elective representative republic. As transmitted power sought the alliance of transmitted wealth, transmitted political equality demands a healthy circulation of property. This is effected by the statute of distributions, in virtue of which, at the end of the second generation in most cases, and invariably at the end of the third, the accumulation vanishes, and nature's noble upstarts are found at the head of affairs. No violence, no plunder, no invasion of the right of property. All is gradual, salutary, and life-giving, because all is done in conformity with the dictates of nature.

In this way, as far as theory goes, the individual diversity principle and the general equality principle are thoroughly harmonized ; and the experiment of two hundred years (for the system in all its great features dates rather from the settlement of the country than the revolution) has fully tried it in practice. To say, that in no single instance it has failed ; that no bad man has been raised to office ; that no good man has lived in undervalued obscurity ; that there has been no profligate wealth, and no wronged, heart-broken poverty, would, of course, be idle. But this may be truly said, — that all the evils which disfigure our system equally exist in all others. There are, and have been in all time, as many bad and incom-

petent rulers, as many worthless persons clothed with influence and fortune, in other countries as in this, and many monstrous oppressions elsewhere existing are here wholly unknown. This, also, may be said, that the evils which manifest themselves in the working of our system, are entirely analogous with those which are exhibited in the whole moral constitution of the universe, as far as we can comprehend it ; which presents to our observation, alike in the intellectual and the physical world, the perpetual antithesis of a perfect theory and constantly recurring exceptions to its operation, an absolute nature thwarted in individual cases of developement, a beneficent system struggling under the abuse of its most genial provisions.

But it is time to return from these speculations to the matter more immediately before us. No part of M. de Tocqueville's work has struck us as more masterly, than the manner in which, in his Introduction, he has traced the growth of the democratic principle in Europe.

"I look back," says he, "a moment, on what Europe was seven hundred years ago. I find it divided among a small number of families, who possess the earth and govern the inhabitants. The right of commanding descends from generation to generation with the inheritances. Men have but a single instrument of acting upon each other, and that is force; and there is but one source of power, landed property.

"In this state of things, the power of the clergy is founded and extends itself. The clergy opens its ranks to all, the poor and the rich, the nobleman and the commoner. Equality begins to penetrate through the avenues of the church to the bosom of the government; and he who would have vegetated like a serf, in a constant slavery, places himself as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not seldom sits down above kings.

"Society becoming in time more civilized and more stable, the different relations among men become more complicated and numerous. The necessity of civil laws is strongly felt. From this necessity the legal profession springs up. Its members go forth from the dark enclosure of tribunals, from the dusty retreats of the registry, and take their places in the court of the prince, by the side of feudal barons covered with ermine and steel.

"Kings ruin themselves by vast enterprises; nobles are exhausted by private wars; commoners grow rich by trade. The influence of money begins to be felt in the affairs of the state.

Commerce opens a new path to influence, and financiers constitute a power in the state, at once despised and courted.

“By degrees, knowledge is diffused; taste for literature and the arts awakens; talent becomes an element of success; science is a means of government, and intelligence becomes a social power. The learned attain political station.

“Meantime, in proportion as new avenues to power are opened, the importance of birth declines. In the eleventh century, in France, nobility was of inestimable value. It could be had for money in the thirteenth century. The first patent of nobility was conferred in 1270, and equality was at last introduced into the government by the aristocracy itself.

“During the last seven hundred years, it has sometimes happened, that, in order to struggle against the royal authority or to divest rivals of power, the nobles have given political importance to the people.

“Much more frequently, kings have been seen to introduce the lower classes into the government, in order to abase the aristocracy.

“In France, the kings have shown themselves the most active and constant of levellers. When they have been ambitious and strong, they have labored to elevate the people to the level of the nobles; when they have been moderate and feeble, they have permitted the people to rise above the throne itself. Some have aided the democracy by their talents, others by their vices. Louis the Eleventh and Louis the Fourteenth took care to reduce every thing to a level beneath the throne. Louis the Fifteenth, with all his court, descended himself into the dust.

“From the time that the soil began to be possessed by the citizens on any other than a feudal tenure, and personal property began to create influence and give power, every discovery made in the arts, every improvement in commerce and industry, created so many new elements of equality among men. From this moment, the processes found out, the wants occasioned, the desires awaked, are so many steps toward a general levelling. The taste for luxury, the love of war, the empire of fashion, the passions of the human heart, alike the most superficial and the most profound, seem to work together to impoverish the rich and to enrich the poor.

“From the time that the labors of the mind became the source of strength and wealth, every scientific developement, every new branch of knowledge, every original idea became a germ of power accessible to the people. Poetry, eloquence, memory, the graces of the mind, the fires of the imagination, depth of thought, all the gifts which Heaven scatters at a venture,

profited the democracy; and even when those gifts were found in the possession of their adversaries, they still promoted the democratic interest, by bringing out in bold relief the natural greatness of man. Its conquests accordingly extended with those of civilization, and knowledge and literature became an arsenal, common to all, where the weak and the poor daily resorted for arms.

"In running over the pages of our history for seven hundred years, you meet no great events, which have not promoted equality.

"The crusades and the English wars decimate our nobility, and produce a division of their estates; the municipal incorporations introduce democratic liberty into the bosom of the feudal monarchy; the discovery of fire-arms equalizes the vassal and his lord, on the field of battle; the art of printing offers equal resources to their intelligence; the post-office brings knowledge alike to the cottage and the palace; Protestantism maintains, that the road to Heaven is equally open to all men; and the discovery of America presents a thousand roads to fortune, and conducts obscure adventurers to wealth and power.

"If, starting from the eleventh century, you scrutinize what takes place in France from half-century to half-century, you will not fail to perceive, at the end of each period, that a double revolution has taken place in the social condition. The noble will have sunk in the social scale, the commoner will have risen; the one descends, the other mounts. With each age they approach each other, and they will soon meet together.

"Nor is this peculiar to France. On whatever side we cast our eyes, we perceive the same revolution throughout the Christian world." — pp. 4–8.

Views like these are equally sound and cheering; they reconcile us to the fortunes of our race. When we contemplate the unsatisfactory progress of freedom; when we witness revolutions commencing under the most promising auspices, but soon plunging into seas of blood; when we see symptoms of degeneracy in the practical operation of the wisest systems of government; when we contemplate the leaden apathy of that ignorance and servitude, into which many of the nations have settled down, our hearts are apt to sink within us. We are ready to despair of the progress of man toward any substantial improvement of his condition, as a member of civil society. But a survey of broad tracts of history is sufficient to correct the impression. The dark annals of the middle ages furnish a source of cheerful hope. It is ground enough of consolation,

that we do not live in the time of the crusades. The baronial castles, masses of tasteless ruins that lie in heaps on the hill-tops of Europe, and whisper from their crumbled battlements the tale of the private wars that desolated the nations for three centuries, are eloquent of encouragement. Arbitrary forms of government still subsist ; but civilization, if not constitutions, has broken down much of their rigor. The fangs of the Inquisition are extracted, and nation after nation has risen up with their once enslaved children into the light of knowledge and Christianity. The crew of the ship may fall into unhappy dissensions, but she is ploughing her way onward before the breeze, and will yet reach the port. No doubt there is a mournful waste of energy, in the struggles of party against party and nation against nation, of those who have the same interests at stake and the same object at heart. No doubt there is a deplorable waste of innocent blood. Thousands and tens of thousands of intelligent men, in our own happy country, are constantly straining all their energies in worthless contests with each other for worthless objects ; and hundreds of thousands throughout the civilized world annually fall a prey to the sword, to the diseases of the camp, and to the horrid reverses of fortune, that follow in the train of war. These evils we witness and feel, and they make us, perhaps, despond over the progress of mankind. But the age of Peter the Hermit, of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, of Louis the Eleventh and Henry the Eighth were worse. All the now existing evils existed in a tenfold degree. Abuses now unknown bore sway ; and the great mass of men were actually brutalized in the depths of their ignorance and subjection. No brighter prospect need be desired for mankind than that religion, morals, government, literature, and the arts, in a word civilization and liberty, may, for ten centuries to come, make a progress equal to that, which has been made in the ten centuries past ; and if we are authorized to hope, as we may without extravagance, that each newly discovered art, truth, and right will furnish in itself not merely a new blessing, but a new instrument of other discoveries and improvements in morals, government, and social existence, imagination itself must fail in the attempt to estimate the inheritance, which is in store for our children.

There is great power and sublimity in the manner in which M. de Tocqueville, having sketched the past, glances at the future fortunes of Europe.

"Whither, then, are we tending? No one can say; for the terms of the comparison already fail us. The conditions of men among Christians are already more equal than they ever were among men at any previous time, in any country; thus the magnitude of what has already been done prevents our measuring that which remains to be accomplished.

"The work which is now submitted to the reader, has been written under the impression of a sort of religious terror, produced in the mind of the author by the view of that irresistible revolution, which for so many ages has advanced against every obstacle, and which is still advancing in the midst of the ruins it has caused.

"It is not necessary that God should speak himself, in order that we may discover the certain signs of his will. It is enough to ascertain what is the habitual march of nature and the continual tendency of events. I know, without an audible voice from the Creator, that the planets perform their courses on the curves, which he has marked out.

"If long observations and meditations, pursued in good faith, should convince the men of this day, that the gradual and progressive developement of equality is at once the past and the future of their history, this single discovery would give to this developement the sacred character of the will of the Sovereign Master. To wish to arrest democracy would then appear to be a struggle against Heaven itself; and nothing would remain to the nations but to accommodate themselves to the social state, imposed on them by Providence.

"The Christian nations appear to me, at the present day, to exhibit even a terrific spectacle. The movement which impels them is already so strong, that it cannot be suspended; it is not yet so rapid, that it is hopeless to attempt to direct it. Their fate is still in their hands, but soon it will escape them. To instruct the democracy; to renovate, if possible, its religious belief; to purify its manners; regulate its movements; substitute by degrees the knowledge of affairs for its inexperience; an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind instincts; to adapt its government to time and place; to modify it according to circumstances and men; such is the first of the duties imposed in our day on those who direct society." — pp. 9, 10.

We have made these extracts as presenting favorable specimens of our author's manner. It would take us greatly beyond our limits, to engage in an analysis of his work. Some general account of the plan, with some additional extracts, and a few remarks, by way of comment, will fully suffice to



give our readers an idea of its value, and to induce them to acquaint themselves with its contents.

The first chapter treats of the physical configuration, (geography) of North America. The second is devoted to what the author calls the *point of departure* of the first settlers, namely, their character, previous opinions, and motives in emigrating. This portion of the work contains very profound observations on the original germ of democratic liberty, as developed in the municipal organization of the mother country. We have already made a remark as to the superior insight possessed by M. de Tocqueville into American affairs, compared with that evinced by some of the ablest English tourists and writers. The present chapter affords a confirmation of this remark. It so happened, that in the early periods of the American settlements, it was the practice of the British government to transport felons to some of the plantations. On this notable fact, and for the worthy purpose of complimenting the present generation, it has been deemed a most valuable doctrine to propose on the subject of the colonization of the United States, "that their Adam and Eve came out of Newgate." This reflection was historically so correct; it was so flattering to Great Britain, considering certain passages in the international relations of the two countries; it was so pleasing and philosophical a solution of the American problem; and its first propounder (Mr. Cobbett) was, in all respects, so worthy a guide of public sentiment, that it is not wonderful, that it was, on several occasions, adopted by writers of great consideration and weight, among others by our learned brother of the English "*Quarterly Review*."\* The following is the most recent form in which we have seen the sentiment stated; it is quoted from "*Frazer's Magazine*."

"Any one initiated into the secrets of the book-trade must be aware, that copies of the Newgate Calendar are in constant and steady request throughout President Jackson's dominions; most families being anxious to possess that work from motives connected with heraldry and genealogical science."

Now let us hear what M. de Tocqueville has to say of the first settlement of New England, and the character of those, who led the way in its colonization.

"After having thus taken a rapid survey of American society

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\* For January, 1828.

in 1650, if we examine the state of Europe, and particularly that of the continent toward the same period, we feel ourselves penetrated with profound surprise. On the continent of Europe, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, absolute royalty everywhere triumphed over the ruins of the oligarchical and feudal liberty of the middle age. In the bosom of this brilliant and accomplished Europe, the idea of the rights of the people was more misconceived, than perhaps even at any other period. Never did the people possess less of the political life ; never had notions of true liberty less engaged the minds of men ; and yet at this very period these ideas of liberty, unknown to the European nations, or despised by them, were proclaimed in the deserts of the New World, and became the future symbol of a great people. The boldest theories of the human understanding were reduced to practice in this society, apparently so humble, and of which assuredly at that time, no statesman had deigned to take notice. Inspired by the originality of nature, the imagination of man there struck out a legislation not founded on precedents. In the bosom of this obscure democracy, which had as yet produced neither generals, nor philosophers, nor great writers, there could arise a man in the presence of a free people, and give, amidst the general acclamation, this beautiful definition of liberty.

“ ‘The questions which have troubled the country of late, and from which these disturbances in the State have risen, have been about the authority of the magistrate and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment from God. We take an oath to govern you according to God’s law and our own ; and if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us, because, being chosen from among yourselves, we are but men and subject to the like passions as yourselves. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a freedom of doing what we list, without regard to reason and justice. This liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority. But civil, moral, and federal liberty consists in every man’s enjoying his property and having the benefit of the laws of his country, which is very consistent with his duty to the civil magistrate. And for this you ought to contend, with the hazard of your lives.’ ” \*

“ I have already said enough to place in its true light the

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\* “ \* Mather’s *Magnalia*. — This discourse was pronounced by Winthrop. He had been accused of arbitrary acts of power. After having pronounced the discourse of which the above is a fragment, he was triumphantly acquitted, and from that time regularly re-elected Governor. See Marshall’s *Washington*, Vol. I. p. 166.”

character of the Anglo-American civilization. It is the product (and this point of departure must be constantly borne in mind) of two elements entirely distinct, and elsewhere often found in opposition to each other, but which the Americans have succeeded in incorporating with each other and bringing into marvellous combination ; I mean the *spirit of religion* and the *spirit of liberty*." — pp. 67 – 69.

Though we have disclaimed the purpose to institute a minute criticism of the details of M. de Tocqueville's work, we cannot pass from the chapter before us, without pointing out an inadvertence, capable of leading to a very injurious conclusion. A note to page sixty-second sets forth that, "By the penal law of Massachusetts, the Catholic priest who sets foot in the colony, after having been driven from it, is punished with death." This statement, without any thing to make the reader regard it as expressed in the historical style, the present for the preterite, might betray him into a singular misconception of the state of toleration, which now exists under the law of Massachusetts. His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, for thirty years a most respected citizen of Boston, must guard our friends in France against the mistake. The severe legislation against Catholic priests borrowed by the colonies from the mother country, was the enactment of a very early period (1647), and has long since passed away. It may be proper also to remark by way of explaining to a portion of our foreign readers the true character of the legislation of the colonies, as well as of England on the subject of the Roman Catholic religion, that it must by no means be ascribed purely to ecclesiastical considerations. It rested on such considerations in the colonies, no doubt, to a greater extent than it did in the mother country. Our forefathers entertained an unaffected dread of the peculiarities of the Roman Catholic church, and it was their chief ground of dissent from the church of England, that it had, as they thought, stopped short in its career of reform. But, in both countries, political causes of hostility lay deep in the minds of the people. The dispute between the two churches was intimately connected with political questions, which, from Henry the Eighth, to William and Mary, came home to the organization of the hierarchy as a great element in the government, the composition of the House of Lords, the pecuniary condition of a large body of the priesthood of both communions,

and the titles to no small amount of secularized church property. Besides the interests involved in these questions, an abiding irritation had sprung from the relations of Elizabeth and Mary, and the gunpowder plot under James. After William and Mary, to all the previous causes of an irritable sensibility on this subject, was added the paramount question of a disputed succession to the crown. The colonies could not but sympathize in the excitement of the mother country on these questions ; and if their immediate interest in some of them was inconsiderable, it was still a matter of the highest state policy, that they should atone for their non-conformity, at least by a zealous anti-Romanism, to which their feelings guided them, not less than their interest.\*

The third chapter treats of the social state of the Americans in a general way, of which the author regards the main characteristic to be an essential democracy. He finds in the provisions of our laws relative to the admission to bail, an aristocratic distinction, which favors the rich more than the poor, in matters of criminal justice. This conception, how-

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\* As the terms of the old law confirm the view we have taken of its policy, and the volume, in which it is contained, is rarely met with, we give it entire from the earliest " Revised Laws," Edition of 1672.

#### " JESUITES.

" This Court taking into consideration the great Wars, Combustions, and Divisions, which are this day in Europe, and that the same are observed to be raised and fomented chiefly by the secret underminings and solicitations of those of the Jesuitical Order, Men brought up and devoted to the Religion and Court of Rome, which hath occasioned divers States to expel them their Territories, for prevention whereof among ourselves ;

" It is Ordered and Enacted by authority of this Court, That no Jesuite or Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person (as they are termed), ordained by the authority of the Pope or See of Rome, shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this Jurisdiction ; And if any person shall give just cause of suspicion, that he is one of such Society or Order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspicion, he shall be committed to Prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by Banishment or otherwise as the Court shall see cause.

" And if any person so banished be taken the second time within this Jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, he shall be put to death. Provided this law shall not extend to any such Jesuite, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person, as shall be cast upon our Shores by Ship-wreck or other Accident, so as he continue no longer then till he may have opportunity of Passage for his departure ; nor to any such as shall come in company with any Messenger hither upon publick occasions, or Merchant, or Master of any Ship belonging to any place, not in enmity with the State of England, or ourselves, so as they depart again with the same Messenger, Master, or Merchant, and behave themselves inoffensively during their abode here."— (1647.)

ever, is founded rather in theory, than in any accurate observation of the practical injustice of our law in that respect.

The fourth chapter treats of the sovereignty of the people, as the acknowledged principle of the American constitutions, and its inevitable tendency to universal suffrage. M. de Tocqueville justly describes this principle as coeval with the settlement of the colonies, owing not its origin but its enthusiastic developement to the Revolution. It is unquestionably the master-principle of our politics ; — that from which the highest duties of the citizen flow. The great mass of men are virtuous, patriotic, and single-hearted in reference to public affairs ; but the great mass of men are also absorbed in their private concerns, and, looking individually neither for the honors nor emoluments of office, are too apt, in common times, to sink into a profound apathy and a criminal indifference relative to the concerns of the country. Thus the field is too often left open to the demagogue, who enters it with those forces, which the law of universal suffrage enables him to enlist among the uninformed and the unprincipled. The solid portion of society are at home about their business ; the intriguer, with his deluded instruments, at the polls. Hence the almost unvarying fate of free states ; seasons of prosperous degeneracy, and of political revival in difficult times. Affairs are brought into a bad train, by the incompetent or dishonest men, who from the causes stated have found their way to power ; — a crisis comes on, great public dangers supervene, the patriotism of the country is awakened, and better men are called to the helm. Circumstances, too numerous to be indicated determine the laws of this fluctuation, both as to duration and extent. Wholly to obviate it, is perhaps more than can be hoped for, in the imperfection of human affairs. The nature of the evil indicates the exercise of the elective franchise as the highest duty of all good citizens ; but the most effectual remedy must be sought in universal education. With a universal diffusion of knowledge, universal suffrage may be stripped of its accompanying evils, and rendered, in practice as in theory, a source of strength and happiness to the state. The possession of the elements of useful knowledge and the cheap multiplication of good books would render the mere party press comparatively powerless, and wrest from the demagogue the wand of his power.

M. de Tocqueville, as we have already intimated, has per-

ceived, more distinctly than other writers on this country, the necessity of commencing his inquiries with the separate States ; and that not only in reference to their constitutions of State government, but their municipal corporations. He has made New England the basis of his investigations in this respect, justly deeming the municipal organization of this part of the country to be much more systematically developed, than that of the rest of the Union. This remark was emphatically made by Mr. Jefferson, who deemed the *towns* in New England to be the cause of a good part of its prosperity. It should, however, be borne in mind, that the counties in Virginia and other States formed on her model are multiplied greatly beyond the proportion of their population, as compared for instance with Massachusetts, in order to supply, in some degree, by the machinery of county organization, the want of that of the towns. Massachusetts with a population, in 1830, of about six hundred thousand, has fourteen counties ; and Virginia, with a population about double that of Massachusetts, has one hundred and five counties. Still, however, the county organization is vastly less penetrating and efficient than that of the towns ; and all those interests, which are under the peculiar guardianship of the towns in New England, the poor, the high-ways, and, above all, the schools, are comparatively neglected, where the municipal organization is wanting.

M. de Tocqueville has penetrated, upon the whole, with great accuracy, the municipal system of New England. Certain suggestions would however mislead a foreign reader. Thus it is said, that "there are nineteen principal town-offices. Each citizen is compelled, under penalty of a fine, to accept these several offices ; but at the same time the greater part of them are paid, in order that the poorer citizens may devote their time to them without injury." The most important municipal offices are discharged gratuitously ; and of none of them perhaps can it be said, that the salaries amount to a compensation sufficient to enable the poor to accept them, did they impose duties requiring a large appropriation of time. They are, however, usually filled by the substantial citizens of the towns. Again ; "You see, accordingly, the towns in New England buy and sell, bring and defend suits before the courts, make what appropriations, and raise what sums of money they please, without any check from a superior administrative authority." Although it may

be correctly stated, that all this can be done, without an *administrative* check, the expenditures of the towns are not wholly uncontrolled. The courts of justice will hold the towns to a *bonâ fide* interpretation of the law, which authorizes them to raise money to defray the "reasonable charges" of the town. All conceivable objects of expenditure are not reasonable charges. Besides this, the money is to be raised by the vote of those who are to pay it, among whom a great equality of taxability prevails; and where peculiar circumstances favor a surcharge on individuals of the burden of taxation, a change of residence to some other town is easily effected. This last remedy against oppression will be less easily appreciated in Europe, where family estates are of such vast importance, and their proprietors are rendered by them fixtures on the soil, scarcely more movable, than the massy walls they inhabit. But this locomotive quality of the American population has not escaped M. de Tocqueville's observation in another connexion. On the whole, no element of American liberty is more essential than this unobtrusive, humble, domestic, municipal organization. Every thing is done by the neighbours; by the people, whose interest and comfort are to be promoted. It is the curse of *centralization*, that it puts power into the hands of those who know not Joseph. They cannot exercise it so well; and if they could, and if they did, they would not have the credit of it. There is always an air about a commissioner, who comes down from a distance. How can he tell where to build the district school? Who taught him to thread his way through the barberry-bush lanes, and across the beaver-meadows, to find out the true centre of population for their sun-burnt and flaxen-headed little tenantry? Does he, the supercilious stranger, know how much that steep hill will bear levelling, with a view to the 'Squire's convenience at the summit, without subverting the doctor's underpinning on the side? Can all his town-learned wisdom teach him how much longer that poor old crone may be safely indulged in her preference of every thing but starvation and freezing at home, rather than be made comfortable in the almshouse?

To give a foreigner an adequate idea of the importance of the town system of New England, as a school of legislation and politics, would be wholly impossible. It is enough to say, that the great contest of principle between Great Britain and

her colonies was, as far as New England is concerned, mainly carried on in the towns. The principles were discussed in town-meeting. The representatives, as the crisis drew on, came up to the seat of government with their instructions adopted in town-meeting, often argumentative, pertinent, and eloquent in no common degree. And from that time to this, the same assemblies furnish a constantly renewed discipline in the manly arts of popular government. We do not wonder at the tenacity with which the towns adhere to all their immunities ; and no better illustration could be offered of the estimation in which they are held by the people of Massachusetts, than the enormous tax, which is borne for the sake of keeping up a house of representatives in this State, whose great size is occasioned by the resolute adherence of the towns to their right of separate representation.

The sixth chapter discusses the topic of the judiciary ; the seventh that of impeachments, the terrors of which are greatly exaggerated by M. de Tocqueville. Out of the hundreds of thousands of functionaries of the States and of the United States, who, since the adoption of their constitutions, have been amenable to the impeaching power, we cannot recall half a dozen cases of its successful exercise. No elective officer is likely to be impeached. If there is strength in the impeaching body to vote his accusation, and in the judging body to convict him, there will be power in the party opposed to him in a year or two to deprive him of office, and this contents them. Judicial functionaries, by the tenure of their office, invite to a more frequent exercise of the impeaching power ; but experience has shown, that, in this case also, it is for different causes nearly nugatory. Judicial malversations are infrequent, slight, unprompted by political passions. The judge can scarce ever have a motive to do the only great evil he is competent to do, to corrupt the fountains of private justice ; and could he be so depraved as to meditate it, public opinion so hems him in on every side, unofficial checks so constantly beset him, the press is so observant and so formidable, the bar so powerful, the path of judicial transgression so unfashionable, so unprofitable, so uncomfortable, that impeachment rests like an unused sword in its scabbard, hard to draw when perchance it is wanted.

With this preparation, M. de Tocqueville passes, in the eighth chapter, to the federal constitution, which is treated in



the latter half of the first volume. The second volume is devoted to a series of discussions, of which we can in no other way furnish so adequate an idea, as by transcribing the table of contents. It is as follows :

“CHAPTER I. How it may be said, with rigorous propriety, that the people govern in the United States.

“CHAPTER II. Of the parties in the United States; remains of the aristocratic party.

“CHAPTER III. Of the liberty of the press in the United States.

“CHAPTER IV. Of political associations in the United States.

“CHAPTER V. Of the government of the democracy — universal suffrage — the choices of the people and the instincts of the American democracy in its choices — of the causes, which correct these instincts in part — influence which the American democracy has exercised over electoral laws — public functionaries under the American democracy — of discretionary power assumed by Magistrates under the American democracy — instability of administration in the United States — public charges under the American democracy — its instincts relative to salaries — difficulty of perceiving the causes which lead the American government to economy — can the public expenses in America be compared to those in France? — of the corruption and the vices of rulers in the democracy, and their effects on the public morality — of what efforts the democracy is capable — of the power exercised in general by the American democracy over itself — of the manner in which the American democracy conducts the foreign affairs of the State.

“CHAPTER VI. What are the real advantages which the American society derives from the government of the democracy — of the general tendency of the laws under the empire of the American democracy, and the instincts of those who apply them — of the public sentiment of the United States — of the idea of rights in the United States — of respect for the law in the United States — activity which reigns in all parts of the body politic in the United States, and its influence on society.

“CHAPTER VII. The omnipotence of the majority in the United States, and its effects — how the omnipotence of the majority increases in America the legislative and administrative instability, which is natural to democracies — tyranny of the majority — effects of the omnipotence of the majority over the discretionary power of the public functionaries in America — of the power which the majority in America exercises over thought — effects of the tyranny of the majority over the na-

tional character of the Americans — courtier spirit in the United States — that the greatest danger of the American republics proceeds from the omnipotence of the majority.

“CHAPTER VIII. The circumstances which qualify the tyranny of the majority — absence of centralization in the administration — of the spirit of the lawyer in the United States, and its operation as a counterpoise to the democracy — of the Jury considered as a political institution.

“CHAPTER IX. Of the principal causes which tend to maintain a democratic republic in the United States — of the accidental or providential causes, which contribute to maintain a democratic republic in the United States — of the influence of laws and manners to the same end — of religion as a political institution and its powerful agency in the maintenance of a democratic republic in America — indirect influence exercised by religious belief on political society in the United States — the principal causes which render religion powerful in America — how knowledge, habit, and the practical experience of the Americans, contribute to the success of democratic institutions — that the laws contribute more to this end in the United States than physical causes, and manners more than laws — would laws and manners suffice for the support of a democratic republic anywhere but in America? — importance of these views in reference to Europe.

“CHAPTER X. Some considerations on the actual state and probable future condition of the three races, which inhabit the territory of the United States — actual and probable future condition of the Indian tribes, who inhabit the territory possessed by the Union — position of the black race in the United States — dangers with which its presence menaces the whites — what are the chances of the duration of the American Union — what dangers threaten it — some considerations on the causes of the commercial greatness of the United States — conclusion.”

We have thus laid before our readers the contents of the second volume of M. de Tocqueville's work, as the best inducement we could hold out to them to make themselves acquainted with it, and as an apology for not entering more generally into a discussion of the topics which it treats. They are too numerous and various, and cover too wide a field, to receive justice within the limits of an article. The views which are taken by the intelligent foreigner on all the subjects touched by him, are ingenious, often strongly stamped by originality, frequently both profound and correct. He is sometimes, as we have already observed, led away by a desire to

generalize, and, occasionally, takes too readily for granted, that the existing phenomena justify theories, which he has formed rather in the exercise of his own power of combination and inference, than on the basis of previously collected facts. These however are by no means the characteristics of the work, which, as a whole, cannot be read either in Europe or America, without awaking new and profitable trains of thought. To the European it is replete with instruction.

There is one subject, which M. de Tocqueville has placed in an entirely new light. A favorite topic of reproachful comment with the British tourists and journalists has been the subject of religion in America. Some exaggerated pictures of the state of religious observances in the thinly settled frontier portions of the country, taken in connexion with the European prejudice, that religion can have no substantial foothold, where it is not supported by law, have produced among the class of writers to which we allude, an impression, which they take great pains to propagate in the reading world, that the people of the United States are an irreligious people. The testimony of a French traveller, so intelligent as M. de Tocqueville, of the liberal school of politics, but far from being a blind and indiscriminate admirer of America, and a professed Roman Catholic, will be heard with attention and respect on this subject. We pass over a section, in which the author discusses, with an ingenuity which has not carried conviction to our minds, the proposition that the Roman Catholic religion is not unfriendly to the genius of republican democracy. M. de Tocqueville ascribes the influence of religion to the multiplicity of sects, uncontrolled by an establishment, which leaves every man to the enjoyment of such a form of belief and worship as suits his peculiar temper ; and to the entire abstinence of all the sects from an interference in politics, and a rigid adherence to moral influence alone. We make a quotation from his remarks on this head. One of the most popular of the recent tourists, and not nominally of the masculine gender, loads with inexhaustible ridicule the prudery of the American women. Hear M. de Tocqueville ;

“It cannot be said in the United States, that religion exercises an influence over the laws or the detail of political opinions ; but it directs the morals, and, in regulating the family, labors to regulate the state.

“I do not doubt for a moment, that the great severity of

morals, which exists in the United States, has its origin in religious belief. Religion there is often powerless to restrain man in the midst of the numberless temptations which fortune presents him. It cannot moderate the constantly stimulated passion for gain; but it exercises a sovereign sway over the soul of woman, and it is woman that makes the morals. America is assuredly the country in the world where the marriage tie is most respected, and where the highest and truest idea has been formed of conjugal happiness.

"In Europe, almost all the disorders of society have their origin about the domestic hearth, and not far from the nuptial couch. It is there that men conceive a disgust for natural ties and lawful pleasures, and contract a taste for disorder, an anxiety of heart, a fickleness of passion. Agitated by the tumultuous desires, which have often troubled his own abode, the European submits not without a struggle to the legislative authority of the state. When the American retires from the agitations of the political world to the bosom of his family, he immediately finds there the image of order and peace. There all his pleasures are simple and natural; all his joys innocent and tranquil; and as he reaches happiness by regularity of life, he is easily accustomed to regulate his opinions as well as his tastes. While the European seeks to escape his domestic cares in troubling society, the American finds in his home that love of order, which he afterwards carries into the affairs of state." — Vol. II. pp. 216, 217.

The following fine remark will arrest the attention of the reader, when it is borne in mind that it comes from an intelligent French writer, fully imbued with the spirit of political reform;

"The philosophers of the eighteenth century had a very simple explanation for the gradual decline of religious belief. *Religious zeal*, said they, *must be extinguished, in proportion as liberty and knowledge increase*. It is unfortunate that the facts do not accord with the theory.

"There shall be a European population whose incredulity is equalled only by its brutality and ignorance; while in America you shall see one of the freest and most enlightened nations of the world fulfil with ardor all the exterior duties of religion.

"On my arrival in the United States, it was the religious aspect of the country, which first arrested my attention. In proportion as I prolonged my stay, I saw the great political consequences, which flowed from these new facts.

"I had seen at home the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty proceed almost always in an opposite direction. Here I

found them intimately united the one to the other ; reigning together on the same soil." — pp. 223, 224.

M. de Tocqueville proceeds to observe, that he applied himself with great diligence to the solution of this problem, and found it in the fact of the entire separation of church and state.

"To ascertain the cause," says he, "I interrogated the faithful of all communions. I sought particularly the society of the priests, the depositaries of the different forms of belief, and possessing a personal interest in their permanence. The religion which I profess brought me particularly into connexion with the Catholic clergy, and I hastened to form some kind of connexion with several of its members. To each of them I expressed my astonishment and unfolded my doubts; I found these persons differing only as to details, and all ascribing mainly to the complete separation of church and state, the peaceable empire which religion exercises in their country. I do not fear to assert, that during my residence in America, I did not find a single man, priest or layman, who did not agree in this." — p. 224.

M. de Tocqueville engages in a philosophical analysis of the idea of a separation of church and state, in the course of which we meet with several judicious and profound remarks.

"As long," says he, "as a religion derives its power from the sentiments, the instincts, the passions, which are reproduced in the same manner in all periods of history, it braves the efforts of time, or at least it cannot be destroyed but by another religion. But when religion seeks to rest on the interests of this world, it becomes almost as frail as the powers of this earth. Alone, it may hope for immortality; connected with ephemeral powers, it follows their fortune, and falls often with the passions of the day which sustain it. In uniting itself to the different political powers, religion can but contract an onerous alliance. It has not need of their aid to live, and in serving them it may die." — p. 228.

But we have no time to pursue these extracts. The chapter is full of instruction, which our readers must seek in the volume of M. de Tocqueville himself. His remarks are made for the meridian of Europe and particularly of France; but they rest on a correct estimate of the facts of the case as existing in this country.

Perhaps there is nothing in which the guiding hand of a Superior Wisdom is more plainly traced in the affairs of this country, than in the general adoption and the unanimous ap-

proval of the principle, to which our author ascribes so much importance. One might have expected from the fathers of New England, at least, the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment. Their notions of personal rights did not forbid it, the doctrine of toleration was not well understood by them, and their practice naturally, not to say necessarily, led for the time to the erection of one of the most rigid church systems ever known, — not so much a state religion as a theocracy. But many happy conspiring causes prevented its taking root in the state, and not the least curious was the relation of the colonies to the mother country, as a settlement of Dissenters watched with jealousy by the hierarchy at home, and compelled to purchase toleration by toleration. From the moment the colonies became important enough to attract the notice of the government of the mother country, every attempt to invest their own opinions with legal preference must have proved abortive. Meantime the austere fathers were compelled to fight the hard battles of liberty. They felt every day, that freedom was but one idea ; that it must be embraced or repudiated ; and that conscience could not be shackled and unrestrained at the same time. They were satisfied with a moral influence, in matters of faith, which was as absolute as they wished, and wisely forbore to grasp at a shadow of legal strength, which they could not have obtained, and the struggle for which would have sown bitterness among themselves. Thus the doctrine of liberty of conscience silently grew up and ripened, till, when the revolution conferred the power of creating a church establishment, a unanimous opinion was found existing, that it would be madness to attempt it.

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ART. IX. — *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity, and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benjamin H. Nute, who were cast away in the American Ship Mentor, on the Pelew Islands, in the Year 1832 ; and for two Years afterwards were subjected to unheard-of Sufferings among the barbarous Inhabitants of Lord North's Island.* By HORACE HOLDEN. Boston. Russell, Shattuck, & Co. 1836. 18mo. pp. 133.

A VERY peculiar interest attaches to this little volume, both as it is a narrative of extreme and otherwise extraordinary